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193 During the ceremony the girl is constantly attended and advised by an older woman. Because this woman punctuates cer-
198 tain moments of the rite with a distinctive, high-pitched cry, one
773 name for her is "she who makes the sound." The first use of this cry of applause is attributed to White Painted Woman when her son returned to her after vanquishing the monsters. The
481 helper is also known as "she who trots them off," a reference to the ceremonial run on which she sends the girl. For the sake of convenience she will be called "the attendant" in these pages.

The role which the attendant plays in the girl's puberty rite amounts to a separate ceremony which fits, like part of a mosaic, into the ritual whole. These women, when they become too old to carry on their duties further, teach their lore to others and thus perpetuate the office.

Unlike the rites of shamans, the ceremony of the attendant is
987 knowledge which was granted humankind by the supernaturals in the beginning. No personal experience is at its root, and it is
424 simply learned by one woman from another. Once it is learned, it is, however, an individual possession. The woman must be personally approached and asked to lend her help, and she may even refuse to participate. She must always be rewarded if she does perform the function.

The place of the attendant, then, is somewhere between the purely individualistic shamanism which predominates in the re-
756 ligious life and true priestcraft. Even here a suggestion of the
787 purely shamanistic premise persists, for women who "know" a ceremony from the moon or who have had a supernatural experience with White Painted Woman are thought to carry on this ceremony with best results. Although exceptions are reported, the attendant is most often a woman of advanced years, in keeping with the custom of having elderly practitioners carry out ceremonies for younger people.

Within reach of any large encampment are women who have the right to act as the girl's attendant. "The choice of the woman who attends the girl is up to the parents. They can choose any woman they want." The understanding with the attendant is reached well in advance:

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When they are just beginning to talk about the ceremony, the girl goes to the woman who is going to take care of her. She brings an eagle feather to this woman. The girl holds the butt end and motions four times with the tip end of the feather toward the woman. The woman takes it the fourth time. Then the woman will take care of the girl. She will rub her and push her out to run.

Right from this time the girl calls that woman "mother," even though she is no relative, and this woman calls the girl "my daughter." And they give each other presents throughout life.

The most conspicuous ritualist of the ceremony is one who will be called "the singer" because it is his primary task to superintend the erection of the sacred shelter in which the songs of the rite are chanted and to sing the songs.

The role of the singer also hovers on the border line between shamanism and priestcraft. He does not depend on a personal supernatural encounter for obtaining his songs, nor does he believe that he can intercede for the benefit of the girl through impromptu appeals to supernatural forces with which he is in special rapport:

I became a singer just through experience. I was interested. Every chance I got I sat inside the tepee and sang the songs. I went to the ceremony every time and learned the songs. I connected myself with this ceremony over forty years ago and learned it from the ground up. I approached one of the men who conducted the ceremony and asked for help. The one who is learning to be a singer gets instruction right at the ceremony. When he has enough experience, he conducts it himself. It is very simple. The prayers don't take long to learn. In the course of two or three ceremonies, even, the songs can be learned. I gave no payment to the one who instructed me.

The fact that no payment passed between this man and the one who taught him the songs is convincing proof that the songs are not a personal shamanistic possession but are conceived of as the sacred property of the people as a whole. A shaman seldom parts with his ceremony unless appropriate payment is made both to him and to the supernatural source involved.

In the selection of the singer the greatest forethought is exercised:

Well, suppose you were an Indian here and you had a granddaughter who was growing up. You would come around and say that you wanted your granddaughter to be White Painted Woman. You know me very well, and you say to me, "There are three or four men who know how to sing for this ceremony. Just

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[608] between you and me which one of these men do you think should sing for my granddaughter? Which one should I make my friend?"

And right there you want to be very careful. If you choose one of these men, you are brother to him all your life, even if you are not related to him. You call him friend, but you think just as much of him as you do of your brother. He thinks of your children as his children. After the ceremony is over, you give each other some valuable things—saddles, horses, anything that is worth something. [431] When a man is poor, he gives what he can; it doesn't matter. They do that as long as they live. They might come out equal in giving things to each other.

Then I think about it and say, "You take B. for your granddaughter."

If you choose him, he will be there to see that everything is done right and he will be in there to bless your granddaughter in his way. He blesses all the people when they are putting pollen on the girl. Right in that tepee he asks for good in life for your granddaughter, for all good things, for long life. That's what the ceremony is for. It's up to the man that you choose to have the girl do the things that have always been done in this ceremony. He directs things.

In the minds of individuals the singers are graded according to considerations of friendship and faith. Some singers are thought by their admirers "to know the songs better and to know more about the ceremony." Others watch the fates of the girls for whom particular men have officiated.

I can't say which is the best. The girl my father sang for is still living and is healthy. Many girls die. The ceremony is held so that the girl will grow up and be strong, so you must watch for that. For the girl's puberty rite the Eastern [184] Chiricahua and the Central Chiricahua singers sometimes teach different things. Whatever the singer in charge tells you to do, you must obey. You must follow his directions.

The singer is a free agent as far as obligation to participate in any specific ceremony is concerned:

S.'s mother-in-law was one of the feast-givers. She was talking about the preparations they were making. Just at this time W. [a singer] came up. She spoke to him, asking him to sing for her girl. She called him "brother" and pleaded with him. She said, "I am old and crippled and had to wait to see you. I had no way to get to see you before."

W. just sat there for a long time and said nothing. Then he said, "It looks as if you were waiting for me to come around so it would be easy for you to ask me." He acted as though he wasn't going to do it.

The singer takes his task seriously: "I was singing for C. I took care of her. All my thoughts and efforts were for that girl during the ceremony."

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides now. He had to do it according to the Indian way.

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance. But for most of the guests the feasting, the social dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the greatest attractions.

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent mountain-dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures privately on request, their main function is to engage in several spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers.

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked-dancer shaman:

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They say, "Let's ask the old man."

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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The singer will need eagle feathers, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, and a supply of pollen, white clay, red ocher, and specular iron ore. Required for the ceremony also are a basket tray, usually made from the black outer covering of the unicorn plant; skins on which the girl will kneel or lie during certain parts of the ceremony; and other ritual objects. If the singer or attendant does not have these at hand, the girl's parents must make or procure them.

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The origin of the rite.—White Painted Woman is usually credited with the establishment of the puberty rite. Often associated with her in this undertaking is her son.

It was not until Child of the Water was rid of all the monsters and evil things, until there were many people and the different tribes began to be seen, that the big tepee [girl's puberty rite] was known.

There was a woman who had a daughter who was almost grown. It was time for her to have her first flow. Then Child of the Water and White Painted Woman showed them what to do; this good time was given to the people.

They gave a little feast this first day when she menstruated. Then, after this first day, the relatives of this girl went out and hunted and got everything together so that they could give a big feast. They did this in the fall when there was plenty of fruit and many good things of all kinds. They got a man to sing for her in the tepee. The best masked dancers were got ready. They made them, not in camp, but way off in the mountains and led them in. The spruce trees were cut down for the tepee.

Then, when all was ready, they let many know, and they came from far places. All were invited. The celebration was held for four days. The people had a good time at the dancing. First came the masked dancers. Child of the Water and White Painted Woman gave the people the round dance to enjoy, but this was not to begin until after the performance of the masked dancers was over. After that came the partner dances.

The last two nights the masked dancers remained on the grounds until all the dancing was over. Even the masked dancers took part in the social dancing with their masks pulled to the top of their heads. And the clown was there. The clown, too, danced with women who wished to dance with him. He carried his headdress.

Important incidents of the rite and their respective order are foreshadowed in this narrative. In another account major honors for the establishment of this ritual practice go to White Painted Woman:

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[88] [77] [539] White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." This may explain the control over the weather and the curative functions of the adolescent at this period.

[302] [386] [882] [789] [755]

The "little" rite.—The physiological fact of first menstruation is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and is so important that reference is made to it by a different term from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

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They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

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About noon Mrs. S. came out, bringing a buckskin. A little later the girl came out. She came directly to the buckskin, and Mrs. S. put her down and rubbed her. Then Mrs. S. made four tracks with pollen on the buckskin. W. sang and led her through the four steps, one song for each step. Then the basket with the bag of pollen and an eagle feather in it was put to the east. She ran around it clockwise and returned to her place. She did this four times. Each time the basket was brought nearer. As she came in the last time, tobacco, fruits, and other presents were thrown into the air just as soon as she got back on the buckskin.

Then she marked W. with pollen, marked him across the nose. He marked her the same way. Next she marked the women and children and they marked her. She marked them across the bridge of the nose also. Then the men came. She marked them on the side of the face. After that she picked up the buckskin and shook it to the directions, beginning with the east. Then more presents were given out.

The procedure just described is a much-reduced version of the full rite. The order of events is altered to compress the activities of many days into the hours of one morning, but the incidents enumerated offer a good inventory of the significant elements.

Final preparation and the beginning of the rite.—The ceremony is usually held outside the permanent encampments at a level spot in a clearing selected by the family sponsoring the event. Some days before the exercises are to start (often four days for ceremonial emphasis) the girl's family repairs to the grounds to get everything in readiness.

One of the first acts is to erect the "cook shack," a long, rectangular, leafy shelter to the south of the place where the principal ceremonial structure will stand.

Meanwhile news of the approaching ritual has spread. Members of the local group to which the girl's family belongs and visitors from near-by local groups of the same band gather. If the ceremony is well advertised and the site is near the dividing-line between bands, persons from these neighboring bands may attend. This is a ceremony at which all members of the tribe feel welcome:

All the Indians enjoy the feast—poor and rich, the able-bodied and the lame and blind. This feast has been handed down for many, many years. . . . . All the singing is supposed to work out the future life for the girl in order . . . . that she have long life. The songs bring good luck. The ceremony works good luck for everyone that takes part in it and good luck for the old people during the time of the ceremony, also good luck for the spectators. They sing and pray for all.

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The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane to the east must be left unobstructed.

At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean sometimes.

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting-point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca-root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older woman.

> The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.
>
> Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."
>
> The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl

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is dressed but before she has eaten anything, the woman gives her yucca fruit with a cross of pollen on it. She first holds it to the directions, motions three times toward the girl with it, and puts it in her mouth the fourth time. This is to give her a good appetite; if she is fed with Indian fruits and piñon nuts and all the good things at this time, the girl will have a good appetite throughout life.

The attendant now advises the girl:

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She tells her how to drink water through the tube [of carrizo, suspended from the fringe of the dress on the right side], how to scratch herself with the stick [from a fruit- or nut-bearing tree; the scratcher hangs on the left side of the dress]. She tells the girl that she must not scratch herself with her nails, because, if she does, it will leave scars, and that she must not touch water with her lips but must use the tube for eight days or it will rain.

She tells the girl not to eat too much, because she must stay in the tepee most of the time, and she shouldn't go out in the brush much.

She tells the girl that she mustn't go around except where she is told she can go, that she should stay in the tepee most of the time for the four days of the ceremony and then for four days afterward, until she takes these clothes off.

The woman tells the girl not to talk much during this time and not to laugh, because her face will be old and wrinkled before her time if she does. And she tells the girl that for the ceremony and for four days after it she should not wash. She has pollen on, and if she should put her hand in water and wash it off, it would rain like anything. She tells the girl that if it rains and she goes out in it, that will make it rain harder. If the girl gets wet, it will be rainy and spoil the good time of the people. She must not even go to a spring or look up at the sky, for the rain clouds would gather if she did.[1] [821]

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And these old women talk to the girl about cooking and women's work too. They tell her to think what it means and to believe what the singer tells her, for, if she does not believe, it will not do her any good. And the girl is told to mind and not to make fun of anyone. She is told that she must not get angry or curse anyone till the ceremony is all over for her, till the eight days are over. For the Chiricahua believe that the disposition a girl shows at the time of the ceremony will be hers all through life. If she gets angry, she is going to be mean the rest of her life. They say, too, that if a girl doesn't mind at this time, bad weather comes. If she is pleasant and goes through the ceremony well, she will always be that way.

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And it seems to me that it turns out this way. There's my wife. She went through the ceremony very well, obeyed, and was good. You take C.; she was mean and balky when she was going around that basket. Today she's very mean. My wife went through first, a year or so ahead of C. Then C. went

[1] One informant stated that the singer may not wash his hair during the rite, presumably to prevent rainfall. [533] [302]

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881 793 828 through and wouldn't do anything. And now she's cross, has a bad mouth and a high temper. But she's a good-looking woman all right!

And if the girls are not of good disposition and balk, it harms not only themselves but causes it to rain and spoils the good time of all the people. That's what happened at the last ceremony, and that's why part of the dancing was spoiled. So we try to keep the girls in good humor and coax them.

After eating and listening to the old woman, the girl is ready and comes out. From here on all the people see what happens.

881 793 In spite of general similarities, the rituals of various attendants differ in detail. The prayers show minor divergences. One attendant feeds the girl throughout the four days of the rite; another asks the singer to do this. Some attendants sing for the girl, though most of them only pray. One attendant washes the girl's hair the first morning instead of having the initiate do it.

881 793 533 346 [602] *The erection of the ceremonial structure.*—While the attendant is dressing the girl, the singer directs the building of the tepee-shaped ceremonial structure. Male relatives of the adolescent bring to the grounds four freshly cut young spruce trees, thirty to thirty-five feet long, from which all but the topmost boughs have been trimmed, and some oak boughs and yucca leaves.

At sunrise the singer requests the girl's male relatives and some of the visitors to arrange and erect the main poles. The trees are laid on the ground in clockwise order with butts equidistant from a central point and tips extending outward. The first to be arranged is the east pole. A second pole is laid with tip pointing to the south, a third lies to the west, and a fourth to the north. At the base of each pole a hole is dug. The singer sprinkles pollen on the poles from butt to tip. [788] Then near the leafy tip of each, in clockwise order, he ties a spray of sage and some snakeweed. To the east pole a bunch of grama grass may also be tied, [789] and at its top two eagle feathers are so attached that they will blow freely. This is to guarantee that "nothing is to happen while the tepee is up, that no poles shall fall." To this same pole a long rawhide rope is affixed.

[782] After a prayer has been said, knots of men lift the poles, sliding the butt ends into the holes prepared for them. As the poles

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are held erect, an assistant shakes an animal-hoof rattle,[1] and the singer begins his first chant. These opening songs are known as "dwelling songs." The first song "is about all the four poles. It is about the black horse, the stallion, the four horses, because in this ceremony a horse is given on the last day." Much of the vocalization is meaningless refrain, for the substance of ritual songs and prayers is largely implicit. But the prayer portion can be translated:

Killer of Enemies[2] and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the blue stallion.

Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the yellow stallion.

Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the black stallion.

Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the white stallion.

From the structure to the south, where she is caring for her charge, the attendant cries out in reverent applause when the names of the supernaturals are mentioned. Throughout the rite, whenever reference is made in the songs to Killer of Enemies,

[1] From one informant, a Southern Chiricahua man, comes an assertion that a gourd rattle may be used in the girl's puberty rite in substitution for an animal-hoof rattle. He said: "A gourd rattle as well as the deer-hoof rattle can be used when the ceremonial tepee is being put up. This is the only time it is used; just the tepee singer has it. There are four small holes on each side of it. That is what makes the sound perfect. It has no design." All other informants state that only the animal-hoof rattle, made of four or more hoofs, usually tied to a length of wood, is used.

[2] For most of the Apache people of the Southwest, Killer of Enemies is the culture hero, and Child of the Water is a subordinate brother or companion. The Chiricahua have reversed the positions of these two; indeed, some Chiricahua have eliminated Killer of Enemies altogether and claim that the name is a synonym for Child of the Water. The older heritage persists, however, in the songs of the girl's puberty rite, which mention only Killer of Enemies. The Chiricahua simply accept these references as concerned with Child of the Water.

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881 193 198 White Painted Woman, Sun, or turquoise, she will utter this call.[4]

881 346 533 [539] During a second "dwelling song" the poles are lowered until their tips meet:

> The home of the long-life dwelling ceremony
> Is the home of White Painted Woman,
> Of long life the home of White Painted Woman is made,
> For Killer of Enemies has made it so,
> Killer of Enemies has made it so.

881 346 574 Quickly, when the tops of the four poles meet, the rope hanging from the east pole is wound around the others, and the framework is secure. Now the women come from the community kitchen, bearing receptacles filled with mesquite beans, boiled meat, mescal, yucca fruit, and other food. They set these in an [788] [823] east-west line before the entrance, and, after pollen crosses have been sprinkled over the top of each by the singer, everyone gathers to eat. The conspicuous display of food is symbolic of [261] plenty and of the favor of the supernaturals: "Child of the Water told the Apache to carry food into the ceremonial dwelling, to grab at it, play with it, and eat it. That's why we do it; it is his command."

881 346 [533] After the meal the ceremonial structure is quickly finished. The central fire pit is dug to the accompaniment of more songs. The oak boughs are tied horizontally to the poles, but an opening is left to the east. Women bring to the entrance spruce needles for the floor, and these are arranged by the singer and his helpers. The ceremonial home of White Painted Woman is now ready.[5]

[4] While it is the primary responsibility of the attendant to call thus, other women may join her: "Women, when White Painted Woman, turquoise, or sacred things are mentioned, have the right to make that call. This is true of any ceremony, not just the puberty ceremony. Also they can give that cry when the masked dancers approach, when they just begin to trot in from the east and the jingle of their pendants is heard. Any mature woman can do it, but old women do it mostly. They do it because of the religious feeling they have toward the Mountain People."

[184] [5] The Mescalero Apache, with whom the Chiricahua now share a reservation, use four main poles of spruce and eight others—twelve in all—for the ceremonial structure. They also build the tepee with a runway of eight smaller spruces, four on either side, stretching eastward from the doorway. The Mescalero and Chiri-

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The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

cahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four-pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a four-pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

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881 When no more come forward, the attendant places the girl face
793 downward on the buckskin with her head to the east and "molds"
856 her, working from her head to her feet and from the right side to the left:

The girl is rubbed so that she will have a good disposition and be good. The old women who do it have that as special work. The woman attendant is praying as she does this. She is saying, "May this girl be good in disposition, good in morals. May she grow up, live long, and be a fine woman." The molding also makes the girl straight and supple.

The girls are massaged to give them good health and strength and to straighten out their lives and make them long. . . . .

881 The girl rises, and on the buckskin the attendant outlines four
793 footprints in pollen. Through these the girl walks toward the
788 east, right foot first, "so she will walk on a trail of pollen, so that her way will be fortunate and healthy." The pollen is from trees that bear fruit and nuts.

881 Next the basket tray, containing bags of pollen and ocher, a
793 deer- or elk-hoof rattle, a bundle of grama grass, an eagle feather, and other ritual objects, is placed about thirty paces to the east. When all is ready the attendant "pushes her out to run," and the girl trots clockwise around the basket and back that "she may
[198] live long." As she runs, the attendant again utters the call.

[782] Old men and young boys run after the girls when they go around the basket. They pray as they run. Sometimes the very old men do it. They pray to White Painted Woman. These old men ask for strength, for long life. The young ones ask for long life or anything good. Any way they want to pray is all right. I ran like that when I was a boy. I asked for long life and good health. The older people told me what to do and what to pray for. They say you get long winded when you do this.

881 At the end of the first run the basket is brought nearer the ceremonial structure. Three more times the girl runs, and before each run the basket is brought westward. When the girl reaches
[823] the buckskin after the last run, she picks it up and shakes it to
[751] each direction in clockwise order, beginning with the south, "to send to the directions all sickness and disease that might harm her."

During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family

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After the first, free-step, masked-dancer song, "they switch around, singing the songs of the different steps so that the masked dancers don't get tired." A second type of song is that which accompanies the short step. The words of these songs are much like those of the free-step songs, but the rhythm and mode of execution of the step are different. The dance is marked by bodily rigidity, studied posturing, and short, terse steps. 535 533 881

The third kind of song is that to which the dancers perform the high step. The prayers of these songs reveal nothing new. But the dance step itself departs widely from the others. As soon as the dancers recognize the character of the song, they form a circle around the fire, facing away from it, and dance with vehemence, throwing first one leg and then the other forward and upward. The dance is much like the Russian *trepak* except that the performers do not squat so low during its execution. Although this dance is the most spectacular of the three and is constantly requested by the audience, it is so difficult that it is performed much less often than the other two. 535 881 [533]

Despite the excitement and the rivalry the potential dangers for the participants are never forgotten. If two dancers collide, especially if they have been painted by different shamans, and one drops a stick, he dare not pick it up at once. He will stagger around as if dazed until his companions, lining up in single file, "worship" the wand from the directions and the leader picks it up and returns it to him. [788]

Inside the ceremonial structure.—While the exhibition of the masked dancers is at its height, another phase of the rite, more closely associated with the fate of the pubescent girl, is quietly unfolding. 881 533 793

Sometime during the early part of the night the singer makes his way to the place where the girl and her attendant await him. The girl hands him the rattle that was intrusted to her. He extends an eagle feather toward her, and she grasps the tip of it with her right hand. He shakes the rattle and walks slowly backward, singing: [539]

They move her by means of the finest eagle feather,
By means of it White Painted Woman walks into her home.

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881 533 793 A singer has described this act: "In the evening when the girl first comes out to dance, I lead her with the eagle feather. There is one song to lead the girl in with. I go a little way and sing it again. The fourth time I go right in and put the girl in the corner."

But before they enter, the attendant, who has followed them carrying an untanned hide, and who has given her call of applause at each of the four stops, hurries to the rear of the structure and spreads out the skin. She is followed by the girl, who [788] skirts the fire clockwise (as must always be done when entering or leaving the ceremonial structure) and sits or kneels on the hide, [516] facing the east. If she sits, her legs are flexed under her to the side. Her trunk is held erect, as it should be as long as she remains in the holy place. The singer squats close to the fire, at the south. Behind him sits the attendant, near the center of the [788] south wall. Relatives of the girl and visitors pass clockwise about the structure and make their way to the west. Some latecomers sit in the doorway.

881 533 793 824 The singer, before going after the girl, has arranged a number of ritual objects. At the main pole of the south he has tied (or stuck into the oak boughs), butt end toward the east, a length of oak wood which is called the "age stick." This, the symbol of long life, stands for the cane his charge will use in her old age. It will serve him as a fire poker and as a support while he sings. On the same pole hangs a fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca strands. This fuse, representative of fire and the hearth, he will use to ignite the ceremonial cigarettes he smokes. On the [413] pole, too, is a grama grass brush which will be used "to brush off evil influences" from the girl and to apply white paint to her.

881 533 793 [788] The singer unfastens these objects and brings them to the fireside. After the ceremony of the first night he will return them to a main pole, this time to the one at the west. In the same way he will continue to move them in sunwise rotation each night until, at the beginning of the fourth and last night, the ceremonial circuit will be completed, and these objects will be found on the east pole.

At the edge of the fire other objects have been arranged. The

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fire pit is flanked at each cardinal point by a flat rock painted red on top. These "stand for" the mescal or century plant, a food staple, and act as a prayer that the girl may find and prepare an abundant supply of mescal in the course of her life. A stone bowl, the mortar for the paints of the ceremony, is set toward the east this first night. This, too, will be moved each night.

The singer rolls a cigarette, lights it with the slow fuse, and smokes and prays. His voice is hardly audible. The attendant, using the same fuse, also offers smoke ceremonially. Then the singer starts to shake the hoof rattle which he holds in his right hand and begins his first song.

The songs of this ceremony are in reality a journey in which the girl is brought to the holy home and from there is conducted symbolically through a long and successful life.

We think of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them. The first songs describe the holy home and the ceremony. Later come the songs about the flowers and the growing things. These stand for her youth, and as the songs go through the seasons the girl is growing up and reaching old age.

At the conclusion of a song the singer explained:

This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits. The translation doesn't mean much, but there is a great deal to it if you think about it.

There is a general tendency to move, as the songs continue, from the more remote and abstract qualities to the growing things of the earth.

The big ceremony starts with songs of the sun, the moon, and such things. Then comes the earth. Then the songs are mostly about the earth and the things that grow on it, about the fruits, the trees, the plants; about even the children. Nothing is left out. . . . .

. . . . On the fourth night the songs deal with all the different grasses and carry them through all the different stages of development, from spring to winter. Then by morning we are through.

The songs belong to two general groups, and each kind of song is accompanied by a different dance. Most numerous are the "shuffling-step" songs, and, when these are sung, the girl stands,

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881 raises her arms upright from the elbows with palms outward,
533 holds her feet close together, and moves from left to right and
535 right to left by alternately pivoting on her toes and her heels. The second type of song calls for an "in-place" step and provides rest from the exertions of the first type. In its performance the girl sways in place with her hands on her hips.[12]

Because of the repetition of its verses, each song is long, and the shuffling step is very tiring. But, whenever the girl is weary, she may stop and kneel, even though the song is not finished.
[193] The singer makes no attempt to test or to overtax her.

The singer watches the girl and uses his judgment. The idea is not to let her get too tired. There is the dance the girls do with their arms up. The word for it means "shuffling," sliding to a place as a horse does. They sing about six songs of this kind and then change to the one where the girl dances in place with her hands on her hips. The singer tells the girl which dance to do if she does not know. They sing fewer songs of this second kind. These are just to rest the girl.

[276] Every fourth, sixth, or twelfth song may be set aside for a
[461] "smoking song," after which the singer smokes or prays:

After about six songs they have a smoking song. They smoke after this song; all those inside can smoke then. There is no dancing during the smoking song. The girl can rest; she can kneel but cannot sit. She must have her body erect. There are many of the smoking songs. After this they start singing and dancing again.

The initial song of the first night is of the shuffling-step type. "This is the first song sung. It is the home's own song, the first one sung when they are in there." The second song, also of the shuffling-step variety, simply repeats between refrains these words:

[539]

I have walked well
Into the home of White Painted Woman.

Now follow songs of the singer's choosing, fixed only in accordance with the general pattern already outlined. No definite number of songs need be sung during the night. One singer remarked:

[78] "An informant described a third step, which he claims was formerly danced by the pubescent girl. "It is called 'walking around.' The girl has her arms up and her elbows pointed down. She walks forward, turns toward the south, and comes back, doing this four times. It's mostly to rest and relax." This step is not performed now.

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"In summer I sing fewer songs because the nights are short. In winter I sing more." After the introductory numbers, the songs are arranged in groups of fours. The songs of each group are called "siblings of the same sex" because, in passing from one to another in a set of four songs, an alteration of a word or two of the prayer may be the only discernible change.

Throughout the dancing the attendant remains in her station at the south. Whenever, in the course of the singing, the names of supernaturals or sacred substances are mentioned, she raises her voice in the call of applause.

The songs of the ceremony are too numerous to reproduce in full, but a few of different types, representative of the first night's repertory, are here given in free translation. First are two shuffling-step dance songs:

I

Killer of Enemies, source of long life,
White Painted Woman has come inside;
She grows up by means of it.

II

The spruce home of White Painted Woman is built of long life,
By means of a home built of this she has gone inside,
By means of her power of goodness White Painted Woman has come to her,
By means of it the words have gone inside.

Of the in-place dance songs the following two examples are offered:

I

I come to White Painted Woman,
By means of long life I come to her.
I come to her by means of her blessing,
I come to her by means of her good fortune,
I come to her by means of all her different fruits;
By means of the long life she bestows, I come to her;
By means of this holy truth she goes about.

II

I am about to sing this song of yours,
The song of long life.
Sun, I stand here on the earth with your song;
Moon, I have come in with your song.

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881 The translation below indicates the character of the third type
533 of song—the smoking song. Often, when the men who are sitting
276 just outside the structure singing and drumming for the masked
461 dancers hear one of these songs, they also pause to smoke.

[539]

The time for smoking has come.
With the sun's tobacco let all be made pleasant.
From here on let good constantly follow,
From now on let many old men and old women rejoice;
Let them come back to many ceremonies like this;
Let all the girls be happy;
Let them know many ceremonies like this;
Let all rejoice;
Let all the boys rejoice;
Let them attend many ceremonies like this.

881 The dancing within the ceremonial structure is brought to an
535 early close the first night. Sometimes the masked dancers are
1793 still circling the fire as the singer, the attendant, and the girl file
[1788] sunwise from the holy home. If this is the case, the girl may be asked to shuffle around the fire in the wake of the masked impersonators before leaving for her camp. Meanwhile the attendant has gathered up the hide, the rattle, and the feather and will keep them until they are needed on the following night.

881 *The social dancing.*—If the masked dancers have not left be-
535 fore the girl has concluded her dance within the ceremonial struc-
574 ture, they disappear for the night soon afterward. But the evening's activities have scarcely begun for the visitors. Social dancing is closely associated in the popular mind with the ceremony, for this is one of the few occasions which brings together enough people to make it possible. The dances take place every night and must follow an invariable order.

881 The songs for the social dances contrast markedly with the
533 sacred music:

[535] With the social dance songs it is different. They don't belong to any one person. Anyone can sing them. Anyone can make up his own, and, if it is a good one and the people like it, he and others will keep singing it. Anyone can join in these songs if he knows them, even in the part with the words. These songs are funny. You can say almost anything in them.

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881 533 Another morning song purports to be a passage between a man and a woman who is endeavoring to hide her age so that she may have a good time:

[539]

They tell me you are old:
I, I don't think so.

Then there are the lines depicting the confusion of two young friends who cannot bring themselves to separate:

[539]

Woman from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.
Man from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.

At dawn those who have remained up all night disperse for a few hours of rest. There will be no morning ceremony to rouse them, for the puberty rite proper of the second day is not resumed until nightfall.

881 [514] [525] [535] *Events through the fourth night.*—During the morning and afternoon of the second day visiting, feasting, gambling, and sporadic social dancing take place. The girl has no special duties during the day, although she must be mindful of her general restrictions. If she becomes restless, she may be permitted to walk toward the hills or to join in the daytime social dancing for short intervals.

At dusk the events of the preceding evening are repeated without significant variation. The central fire is renewed, the masked dancers appear, the pubescent girl is led to the ceremonial structure, and later in the evening the same social dances, in identical order, are again performed.

In outline the third day and third night differ in no essential way from the second day and night. The activities of the fourth day, moreover, follow closely those of the second and third days.

But the fourth night of the ceremony departs in several important respects from what has gone before. The first events are the familiar ones. At dusk the masked dancers appear and repeat their performance. And, as before, when the masked-dancer display is at its height, the singer leads the girl to the ceremonial

[533] [793]

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structure. This time, however, he brings with him a bundle of narrow sticks of mock orange wood. Beginning at the southeast and moving clockwise around the fire pit, he erects one stick for every song he sings this fourth night, until the fire pit is surrounded except for a space to the east that must remain open. After every set of four songs has been sung and the corresponding four sticks have been set up, a fifth, shorter length of wood is placed horizontally on the ground between this set and the one to follow. This horizontal piece represents a smoking song presumably: "When I lay the stick down, there is a song about smoking that goes with it. The song comes first, then I put the stick down, then smoke, then pray, then go on to the next set." For the first three nights the singing and dancing within the structure cease at midnight or before. But this night they continue until daybreak.

The songs of the second, third, and fourth nights to which the girl dances are a continuation of the life-journey pattern. In order to indicate the sweep of this ritual progression, a number of songs, arranged roughly in chronological order in respect to the rite as a whole, are introduced. The first, a shuffling-step song, has to do with the birds:

> White Painted Woman commands that which lies above,
> Killer of Enemies commands,
> By means of long life they command.
> From the mouth of the chief bird
> Yellowness emerges by means of it,
> By means of it yellow emerges from your mouth.

The girl's necklace, symbolic of lifelong wealth, is celebrated in a shuffling-step song:

> The words of Killer of Enemies, good through long life,
> Have entered you;
> They have entered you by means of your necklace;
> Your necklace has gone into your body,
> For its power is good.

Of the next song, which he called "She Sleeps with It," the singer said:

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As a final gesture of appreciation toward those who have helped make the social aspect of their ceremony a success, the hosts "give a personal present to the women who dance until sunup."

Conclusion.—The final events of the rite should take place in the sun's rays and, if the sunrise is obscured by clouds, the people wait patiently for the emergence of the first beams. As the eastern skies become lighter, twelve songs, familiarly known as "stop" songs, close another chapter of the ceremony. One of the last of these, heralding the appearance of the sun, simply repeats over and over:

> The sun, emerging,
> Says to me, "My grandchild."

The last of this series is a graceful apotheosis of the life-journey upon which the adolescent girl has embarked:

> You have started out on the good earth;
> You have started out with good moccasins;
> With moccasin strings of the rainbow, you have started out;
> With moccasin strings of the sun's rays, you have started out;
> In the midst of plenty you have started out.

Now the girl faces the east, kneeling on the hide. The space to the east of the ceremonial structure is cleared of all loiterers:

> They won't let anyone, even a dog, go across between the sun and the ceremonial structure on the last morning. They say that anyone who does this will get sick and die. I believe it. T.'s daughter didn't think and went across once just as the sun was coming up. She died soon afterward.

The sticks which have been erected around the fire pit during the singing are gathered up in clockwise direction, tied in a bundle, and deposited in the coiled basket tray containing the other ceremonial objects.

The singer faces the east with the basket before him and sings four songs. Everything is taken out of the basket except white clay. Then the singer faces the girl and puts pollen first on his own face and head and then on her head. Meanwhile the attendant has mixed water with the white clay in the basket. After another song, the singer paints a line of white and red on the girl's face. Again he turns to the east. He hands his rattle to a man who comes forward to assist him.

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He dips his right forefinger into the red paint, holds it up, and sings the "Red Paint Song." Using a splinter of wood to trace the rays, he draws a sun symbol on the palm of his left hand in pollen, red ocher, and specular iron ore. While he does this, he sings a song, "a long one because it takes a long time to put that design on":

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[532]

Now I'll make long life of the sun's rays,
Now I'll make long life of the sun's pointed rays,
I'll make peaks extending outward.
The rays of the sun and long life are made of pollen,
The points of the sun and long life are made of pollen,
The points of the sun and long life are made of specular iron ore,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of specular iron ore,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of blue paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of blue paint,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of red paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of red paint,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of white paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of white paint.

[539]

The completed sun symbol is held up to the advancing shafts of light as the singer chants:

That which comes has come well out,
In here it has come.

[539]

Again the singer faces the girl. He touches the painted hand to her body at various places, circles her head clockwise with it, and finally obliterates the symbol by rubbing it over her head just as the rays of the sun shine upon her. At this time, too, the singer ties a piece of abalone shell or turquoise to the girl's forelock.

The eagle feather with which the girl has been led to the inclosure each of the four nights has been thrust into the bundle of grama grass. The singer uses the stems and the quill of this bundle as a brush to paint the girl with white clay. First he paints the right side and then the left side of her face, next her right arm below the elbow and her left arm, and finally her legs from the moccasin tops to the knees. This is a signal for the onlookers to press forward. With the materials left, the singer marks them on various parts of their bodies as they file past him.

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[302]

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881 533 793 When no more come, he returns to the girl, removes the eagle feather from the improvised paint brush, and extends the tip toward her. She grasps this, arises, and follows him as he walks backward, shaking his rattle and singing. Before they reach the front of the ceremonial structure, he has paused four times and sung two songs "about walking along the place of many fruit trees."

Meanwhile the attendant has replaced the ritual objects in the basket. She lays down a buckskin, head to the east, and places the laden basket before it. When the singer and the girl pause at the hide, the eagle feather is added to the tray's contents.

[574] No sooner have the singer and the adolescent left the ceremonial structure than containers of food are brought and placed [788] in a straight line extending east of the fire pit. The singer marks each food receptacle with a pollen cross, and the people eat.

881 346 After the meal the men begin to dismantle the ceremonial structure, stripping the oak boughs from the sides and leaving the framework, the four main poles, standing alone.

881 533 793 788 A "trail" of pollen and specular iron ore is now prepared for the girl. Working from west to east, the singer outlines four footprints on the skin, the first in specular iron ore, the second in pollen, the third in specular iron ore again, and the fourth in pollen. Slowly, as her guide sings, the girl leads with her right foot and walks along this ceremonial path. At the end of the fourth verse and fourth step she stands at the head of the hide. Children, old people, and the infirm then walk along this same path.

Now the attendant takes the basket tray and, as was done the first morning of the rite, places it twenty-five or thirty paces to the east. At a word from the singer, the adolescent runs to the basket, circles it clockwise, and returns to the starting-place. The call of the attendant is heard as she runs. After the run the basket is moved westward. For two more runs an identical procedure is followed, but on the fourth and last run, the girl completely circles the basket, bends low to pick up the feather from it, and trots east once more to some designated point. She circles it clockwise and heads westward once again.

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The last run is made so that the girl will be strong, so that she will be a good runner and have a good heart [i.e., be brave]. Some used to run about a quarter of a mile to the east this last time. Because of this some girls became as good runners as men in the old days. If they have far to go, they do not have to run all the way. They can alternate between walking and running.

881
As the girl approaches the ceremonial structure for the last time, the attendant calls; the main poles are pushed to the east; [793] and, as favors are tossed in the air and the children scramble for [346] them, the girl makes her way to the encampment of her parents. [431]

The temporary camps that have been established for the period of the rite begin to disappear. The poles of the ceremonial [346] structure lie unmolested; they may not be used for firewood.

The girl's family stays on the grounds four days after the ceremony ends. [271] During that time the girl can't wash and has to wear her costume. She must use [413] the scratcher and reed for these four days too.

The girl has still another ritual duty to perform:

The little ceremony where the girl gives the horse takes place four days after the close of the big feast. A horse, any kind of a horse, is required. It always was so and has been handed down. She is still dressed in her costume. She walks the horse to the singer. That ends it. Her part is now over.

On the morning of the ninth day "before the sun comes up, the [793] woman who cares for the girl [attendant] prepares yucca root [302] and warm water and washes the girl's hair and entire body." [515]

881
The prevailing tone of this ceremony is one of pleasure and promise. The physiological aspects of maturation are little em- 182 phasized. The behavior restrictions imposed upon the girl are not irksome, and their violation brings no really dire consequences. She is not isolated but achieves recognition as the central figure of a major social and ritual event during which she is likened to a supernatural being. Her formal introduction to adult status is accomplished in the midst of abundance, ritual safeguards, and festivity; therefore, she has little desire to return to the status which preceded the recognition accorded her.

Many heterogeneous elements combine to produce the girl's puberty rite. The singer, the attendant, the masked-dancer shaman, the dancers themselves, the musical accompanists for the social dance songs—all possess individual prerogatives which are not subject to call. The participation of these persons can